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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	EB-01	FBIE-00
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-10	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/033W
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P 211519Z MAR 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0356
RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 000856

E.O. 12356:NA
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
TWAGIRAMUNGU: PREACHING TO THE CHOIR

1. C -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD ME OF HIS
GROWING CONCERN OVER INSECURITY, ARRESTS, PRISON
CONDITIONS, AND EXTREMIST ELEMENTS IN THE RPA. HE FEARS
THAT INNOCENT PEOPLE ARE BEING DENOUNCED FOR SELFISH
REASONS AND THAT IT WILL TAKE YEARS TO SORT OUT WHO IS
GUILTY AND WHO IS NOT. HE FEARS A TUTSI REVENGE KILLING
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TO COMMEMORATE THE MASSACRES OF LAST APRIL 6/7. HE SAYS THAT THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS HELP TO GET MOVING, BUT THAT THE REAL PROBLEM IS THE RPA, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS AN ARMY TAKING THE SPOILS OF WAR. END SUMMARY.

3. ACCOMPANIED BY ADCM WHALEY, I CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU MARCH 20 TO RAISE OUR INCREASING SERIOUS CONCERNS ABOUT THE RECENT WAVE OF ARRESTS, PRISON CONDITIONS, AND THE PERCEPTION OF GROWING INSECURITY THROUGHOUT RWANDA, BUT FOUND THE PM PREACHING MY SERMON TO ME.

GROWING INSECURITY DISCOURAGES RECONCILIATION

4. THE PM TOLD ME THAT MORE AND MORE OF THOSE BEING ARRESTED WERE MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASSES, WHO WERE INDISCRIMINATELY SUSPECTED OF BEING ORGANIZERS OF THE GENOCIDE, WHETHER THERE WAS PROOF AGAINST THEM OR NOT. MANY BELONGED TO HIS MDR POLITICAL PARTY AND WERE ACCUSED OF OLD-LINE PRO-HUTU (PARMEHUTU) SYMPATHIES. THE PM SAID THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT WAS NOT ENCOURAGING, SUGGESTING AS IT DID PURELY POLITICAL MOTIVES BEHIND THE ARRESTS. "WE THOUGHT WE COULD ESTABLISH A BASIS FOR RECONCILIATION BY INVITING THOSE OUTSIDE RWANDA TO COME BACK," HE SAID. "BUT MY OWN ANALYSIS IS THAT IT SEEMS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONVINCE ANYONE TO COME BACK UNLESS THERE IS AN ASSURANCE OF SECURITY." HE OBSERVED THAT EVEN THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED HAD NOT BEEN REINTEGRATED, AND THAT IT WAS HIS PERSONAL BELIEF THAT NO REFUGEES OUTSIDE WOULD

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RETURN VOLUNTARILY TO FACE THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE THAT THE CURRENT WAVE OF DENUNCIATIONS AND ARRESTS ASSURES.

AN UNPAID ARMY OF OCCUPATION
AVENGING THE DEFEAT OF 1959

5. ON SECURITY, THE PM STRESSED THE SPECIAL NATURE OF

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THE RPA, WHICH HE SAID WAS NOT A NATIONAL ARMY IN THE CLASSIC SENSE, BUT RATHER AN ARMY OF FOREIGNERS OCCUPYING A COUNTRY THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND -- EVEN THE WAY THEY SPEAK KINYARWANDA IS 'FUNNY,' HE SAID. THE ARMY HAS SHOWN A LACK OF WILL TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AMONG THE RWANDANS. THE PM SAID HE HAD RECEIVED A REPORT THAT THE PREFECT OF BUTARE WAS MURDERED NOT BY INTERAMAMWE BUT BY HIS OWN RPA BODYGUARDS DISSATISFIED WITH HIS 'LACK OF RESPECT' FOR THE ARMY. VILLAGERS COMPLAIN THAT UNPAID SOLDIERS PREY ON THEM, STEALING OR DEMANDING BRIBES. THERE IS AN EXTREMIST TREND AMONG THE ARMY'S OPINION LEADERS, THE PM SAID, WHOSE THINKING RUNS LIKE THIS: "WE HAVE WON THE WAR. WE ARE THE NEW MASTERS HERE; WE CAN DO WHATEVER WE WANT TO DO. WE MUST SHOW THAT WE ARE MERCILESS, UNDO THE HUTU SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND REESTABLISH TUTSI ASCENDANCY."

6. THERE ARE RUMORS THAT EXTREMISTS WITHIN THE ARMY ARE PLANNING SYMBOLIC MASSACRES ON APRIL 6/7, THE PM TOLD ME. WHILE THESE ARE BUT RUMORS, THEY ARE WORRYING. THESE EXTREMISTS HEW TO THE LINE THAT THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE GENOCIDE MUST BE ROOTED OUT WHEREVER THEY ARE. ANY

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HUTU NOT SEEN TO BE FULLY COOPERATIVE WITH THE ARMY MUST BE ARRESTED AS WELL FOR STANDING IN THE WAY OF ARRESTING KILLERS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE 22 PRISONERS ASPHYXIATED IN A TINY CELL LAST WEEK WERE THE VICTIMS NOT OF IGNORANCE OR NEGLIGENCE BUT OF 'SOMETHING ELSE' -- DELIBERATE INDIFFERENCE ON THE PART OF THE SOLDIERS WHO ARRESTED THEM. "MORE AND MORE," THE PM TOLD ME, "I THINK WE ARE BEING OVERWHELMED BY EXTREMISTS. KAGAME DOES NOT CONTROL ALL ELEMENTS OF THE ARMY." HE SAW THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE GENDARMERIE, COLONEL KAYUMBA, AS THE PROBABLE LEADER OF THIS ELEMENT.

THE SOLUTION: A FORM OF AMNESTY?

7. THE PM OFFERED HIS OWN THINKING ON HOW TO GET OUT OF THE MESS IN WHICH RWAUDA FINDS ITSELF. HE THINKS THAT

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ARRESTS SHOULD STOP. MAKING ARRESTS CAUSES PROBLEMS
BECAUSE THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH MAGISTRATES, NOT ENOUGH
PRISON SPACE, AND THE ARREST ARE BEING CARRIED OUT IN AN
ARBITRARY AND OFTEN ILLEGAL MANNER. HE THINKS
PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE SHOULD BE LEFT AT LARGE, BECAUSE
THEY ARE KNOWN, THE BORDERS ARE CONTROLLED, THEY CAN BE

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TWAGIRAMUNGU: PREACHING TO THE CHOIR

PICKED UP LATER. THE ARRESTS ARE SWEEPING UP TOO MANY INNOCENT PEOPLE, HE SAID, AND THE ONLY SOLUTION WAS TO

STOP THE ARRESTS NOW, TRY A FEW CASES, AND THEN GET ON IN A SERIOUS WAY. THE PM REJECTED THE IDEA OF GENERAL AMNESTY, BUT MUSED ABOUT A SYMBOLIC PARDON FOR THE VAST MAJORITY OF PARTICIPANTS AFTER AT LEAST SOME LEADERS HAD BEEN TRIED, CONVICTED, AND GIVEN EXEMPLARY SENTENCES. ABSENT SOME SUCH SOLUTION, THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
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WOULD BE A BURDEN TOO HEAVY FOR THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT TO BEAR AND THE RWANDANS WOULD NEVER HAVE THE CHANCE TO GET ON WITH REBUILDING THEIR COUNTRY TOGETHER.

COMMENT

8. THE PM WAS SOMBER, GROPING FOR SOLUTIONS TO AN INTRACTABLE PROBLEM. HE HAS QUITE CLEARLY BEEN THINKING ALONG THE SAME LINES WE ARE. ON THE SPECIFIC ISSUE OF RELEASING YOUNGER AND OLDER PRISONERS, HE OBSERVED THAT SOME OF THE WORST EXCESSES IN THE MASSACRES HAD BEEN COMMITTED BY YOUNGSTERS, AND THAT SOMETIMES WOLF PUPS CAN BE MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE WOLVES THEMSELVES. HE NONETHELESS TOOK ON BOARD OUR SUGGESTIONS REGARDING BETTER ARREST PROCEDURES, REVIVING THE TRIAGE COMMISSION, NEW DETENTION CENTERS, AND BLANKET RELEASE FOR CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF PRISONERS.

9. TWAGIRAMUNGU IS RIGHT THAT THE PROBLEM OF ARRESTS AND ADMINISTERING JUSTICE WILL BREAK THIS GOVERNMENT AND STOP RECONCILIATION BEFORE IT GETS FAIRLY STARTED. THE INSECURITY RESULTING FROM THE ARRESTS DISCOURAGES REFUGEES FROM LEAVING GOMA, THE FAILURE OF THE REFUGEES TO RETURN HARDENS THE ATTITUDE AMONG SOME TUTSIS THAT "THEY ARE ALL GUILTY," WHICH IN TURN ENCOURAGES FRESH ARRESTS. THE PM'S EMPHASIS ON THE POLITICAL NATURE OF

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THE ARRESTS IS A NEW WRINKLE IN AN ALREADY COMPLEX
PROBLEM.

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10. THE PM'S CONSTANT REFERENCES TO THE ARMY THROUGHOUT OUR 90 MINUTE CONVERSATION UNDERLINED THE POWERLESSNESS HE FEELS AS HEAD OF A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. HE CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS THE RPA HIGH COMMAND AND THE RPF POLITICAL BUREAU WHICH WERE REALLY RUNNING THE COUNTRY. ANYTIME A DECISION WAS DELAYED IN GOVERNMENT, IT WAS TO ALLOW TIME FOR RPF MINISTERS TO CHECK IT OUT WITH THEIR LEADERSHIP. THE SOLUTION TO RWANDA'S PROBLEMS ULTIMATELY WAS TO RETURN TO CIVILIAN AUTHORITY BOTH AT THE CENTER AND AT PREFECTURE AND COMMUNE LEVEL.

11. I WILL BE CALLING ON THE PRESIDENT TOMORROW TO RAISE CONCERNS ABOUT ARRESTS AND PRISON CONDITIONS. THEN WILL FOLLOW MEETINGS WITH JUSTICE AND INTERIOR. THE VICE-PRESIDENT IS ON HIS WAY TO CHINA AND WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR A WEEK. OUR MESSAGE WILL BE REPEATED TO ALL PARTS OF RWANDA'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. THE PRIME MINISTER, FOR ONE, BELIEVED THE MESSAGE BEFORE WE EVER DELIVERED IT. RAWSON

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